

SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN PENGAJIAN AT JOGOKARIYAN MOSQUE

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Abstract

Pengajian (religious teaching) is one of the primary programmes at Jogokariyan mosque. It has been held regularly and incidentally using the current issues as a theme. After the 212 demonstration 2016 in Jakarta, pengajian in Jogokariyan always uses the specific themes related to the religious social issues. This article tries to explore how the reception of hadith or the teachings of prophetic tradition live in a social movement in the context of pengajian at Jogokariyan mosque. Employing a social movement approach, this article seeks to explore deeply how the hadith or prophetic traditions are expressed and its relevance to the social movement in pengajian. The social movement has three strategies, namely, (1) political opportunities, (2) mobilizing structures and (3) framing process. This present paper concludes that firstly, religious teaching in Jogokariyanmosque is a model of reception of hadith about seeking knowledge and majlis ilm'. The hadith is used as a basic tool to mobilize the process of social movement in pengajian. Secondly, the social movement in the Jogokariyan mosque is motivated by the injustice feeling caused by the policy of the government today.

Keywords: Living Hadith, Pengajian, Social Movement

Abstrak

Pengajian adalah salah satu program utama di masjid Jogokariyan. Program ini telah diadakan secara rutin maupun insidental dan sering

mengangkat tema isu-isu terkini. Setelah demonstrasi 212 tahun 2016 di Jakarta, pengajian di masjid Jogokariyan selalu menggunakan tema-tema spesifik yang berhubungan dengan isu-isu sosial keagamaan. Artikel ini berusaha mengeksplorasi bagaimana resepsi hadith atau sunnah Nabi dalam gerakan sosial di pengajian masjid Jogokariyan. Tulisan ini juga menggunakan pendekatan gerakan sosial untuk mengetahui lebih dalam proses hadith diekspresikan dan relevansinya terhadap gerakan sosial dalam pengajian. Gerakan sosial memiliki tiga strategi, yaitu (1) kesempatan politik, (2) mobilisasi struktur dan (3) proses framing. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa pengajian di masjid Jogokariyan adalah model resepsi hadith tentang keutamaan mencari ilmu dan majlis ilmu. Hadith digunakan sebagai alat mobilisasi proses gerakan sosial di pengajian. Kedua, gerakan sosial pengajian di masjid Jogokariyan dimotivasi dari perasaan “ketidakadilan” yang disebabkan oleh kebijakan pemerintah.

Kata Kunci: Gerakan Sosial, Living Hadis, Pengajian

A. INTRODUCTION

Pengajian is a religious program that could be seen in mosf of the mosques in Indonesia. Recently, *pengajian* is not only seen as a means of delivering the Islamic teachings, but also motivated by the hidden interest or current social and political issues. This, in some cases, *pengajian* is considered as a form of social movement in society. Dealing with this context, one of the interesting subjects of observation in this study is *pengajian* held at Jogokariyan mosque, Mantrijeron, Yogyakarta City, Indonesia.

The research will be focused on the activities of *pengajian* at the Jogokariyan mosque. In KBBI (the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language), *pengajian* has two meanings, namely (1) *pengajaran Islam* or Islamic teaching and (2) *pembacaan Al-Qur'an* or the recitation of the Holy Quran. In this context, *pengajian* is meant by the first definition where the people gather to listen the teaching of Islam delivered by Ustadz or Islamic preacher. (Tim Penyusun, t.t.)

There are several reasons why the phenomenon of *pengajian* in this mosque is interesting to be researched. *First*, this mosque is a model of the best mosque management nationally in 2016. (Syafiq, dkk, 2017) *Second*, the *pengajian* is always crowded by huge audiences coming both from the

Jogokariyan village and from outside. This indicates that *pengajian* in this mosque has a strong appeal that can not be separated from a religious doctrine.

Third, according to the mosque management board, the Jogokariyan mosque is very open to everyone. The Jogokariyan community is very heterogeneous with the diverse educational background, social status, and religious ideology. Therefore, it is interesting to observe the *pengajian* that is able to unify the diversity in one time, place, and vision. *Fourth*, the topic of *pengajian* in this mosque is actively responding to the current religious issues. This informs us that a religious activity (as a process-whether directly or indirectly-from the meaning and practice of hadith) begins to show a unique style when it comes into contact with the socio-cultural conditions in a particular society.

The research problem in this paper will be formulated in two questions. *First*, how is the form of living hadith in the *pengajian* of the Jogokariyan mosque? *Second*, how is the process of social movement in *pengajian* of the Jogokariyan mosque? Therefore, this research observes the *pengajian* at Jogokariyan mosque as the material object and uses the social movement approach as the formal object.

B. LIVING HADITH AS THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The phrase of living hadith could be understood as the continuous practice of *sunnah* since the time of the prophet. This practice is also called living sunnah which is a practice agreed mutually or the prophetic tradition interpreted freely by the scholars, rulers and judges according to the faced context. (Syamsuddin; Sahiron, ed., 2007)

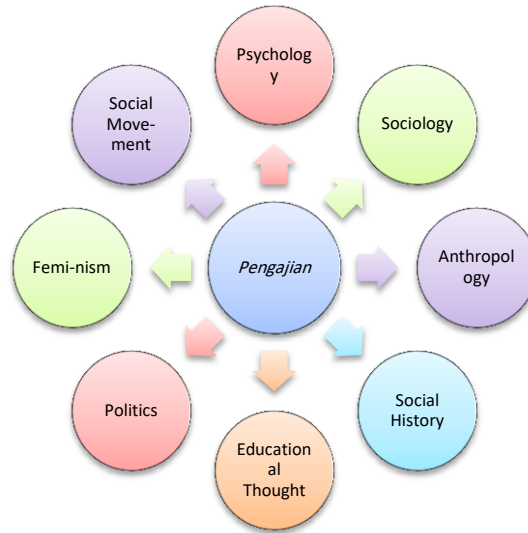
In its development, the phrase of living hadith is popularized later by the lecturers of Tafsir Hadith Program (now changed to “Ilmu Al-Quran and Tafsir” Program & “Ilmu Hadith” Program) Faculty of Ushuluddin on Islamic Thought UIN Sunan Kalijaga through the book “*Motodologi Penelitian Living Al-Quran dan Hadith*.” (Qudsy, 2016) The definition of living hadith here is the reception of hadith or the values of hadith that live in society. From this, it could be understood that the study of living hadith is a research that positions the community (both individually or collectively) as the object of study. (Sahiron Syamsuddin, ed., 2007) When society interacts with the

hadith that are understood as a source of religious teachings, it then will produce the various forms and models as a result of a combination of two objects, namely hadith or values of hadith and society with its culture.

The analysis will be sharpened on how the value and spirit of *pengajian* emerge from the reception of the hadith or the values of prophetic tradition, from whether hermeneutic, aesthetic, or cultural aspects (Hamim Ilyas, 2015) compare to Ahmad Rafiq's dissertation. Rafiq's said that in contrast to exegesis, the term of hermeneutic requires consistent principles or rules of interpretation. This is why he choses the term of 'exegesis'. Rafiq divides the form of reception into three technical terms, namely (1) exegesis, (2) aesthetic and (3) functional.(Rafiq, 2014: 147-154).

Three forms of receptions above can be used in understanding a phenomenon as (part of) living hadith. *First*, exegetical reception is the process of understanding the hadith or the values of the hadith by a society both individually and communally. *Second*, the aesthetic reception is to make aesthetic (beautiful) hadith with its various forms, such as writing, reading and so on. *Third*, the cultural reception as traditions inspired from the hadith or values of propethic tradition as a system of ideas, social, and artifact systems. Each phenomenon is always assumed to contain all these three receptional forms.

B.1. Social Movement Approach in Living Hadith



Picture 1: Illustration of a Phenomenon

A symptom could be seen from different directions and sides. From which is side we look, it will affect the way of the approach. Symptoms in the community are likely to be investigated with a variety of the approaches. For example, a *pengajian* can be studied from either a sociological, psychological, anthropological, political, or historical aspect.

One that may be used in researching a religious phenomenon in society is a social movement. Social movement is defined by Darmawan Triwibowo as a form of collective action with a clear conflictual orientation towards certain social and political opponents, carried out in the context of a strong cross-institutional network by actors who are bound by a strong sense of solidarity and collective identity beyond the forms of bond in coalitions and joint campaigns. There is also another definition stating that, "Social movements are collective efforts to promote or oppose a change in a society or community" (Sujatmiko, 2006: xv).

Pengajian is a phenomenon that occurs in collective communities. Although being considered as a phenomenon that has a common goal, it is in each mind of person to achieve expectations of better conditions in a

social movement. The common movement of the society or groups within a community can appear from the reception of hadith or values of hadith. Thus, this article will examine *pengajian* in the Jogokariyan mosque that appears from the reception of hadith within the framework of the social movement.

The social movement theory which is relevant to see the religious social activity in *pengajian* at the Jogokariyan mosque is a theory developed by Abdul Wahib Situmorang. He proposed three strategic frameworks in forming a social movement, namely (1) political opportunities, (2) mobilizing structures and (3) framing processes (Abdul Wahib Situmorang, 2007)

B.2 Methodology

The study of living hadith is closely related to social and cultural aspects in a particular society. This study uses qualitative data related to values, norms, conversations, social and cultural categories and facts in the field related to the object of research. The collection of data will be administered through using observations and interviews. The researchers will be involved in the social interactions to shed light on the use of language and the cultural practice in the community of the Jogokariyan mosque and its surrounding areas. To analyze the data, the researcher also uses the historical-causal and structural analysis. Historical-causal analysis aims to formulate the cause of the effect between a variable and another variable. Structural analysis will look at variety of symptoms in the field that did not seem visible. The linkage is not in the empirical level but in the conceptual, cognition, and thinking level that produce the logical relations (Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, 2007)

C. SOCIAL RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS OF JOGOKARYAN SOCIETY

The building of the mosque in the Jogokariyan village began on September 20, 1966. In August 1967, in the series of 22nd anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, Jogokariyan mosque was inaugurated by the

chairman of PDM (Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership) Yogyakarta. The founder and pioneer of *da'wah* in Jogokariyan agreed to name it "Jogokariyan mosque". Giving the name of the village as the name of the mosque can be regarded as a form of living hadith. The founders based it on the history when the Prophet Muhammad gave the name of the first mosque established in the Quba village, Madina with the name of the Quba mosque. The mosque built in the village of Bani Salamah is also known as the Bani Salamah mosque. (Muh. Jazir ASP, Dewan Syuro Masjid Jogokariyan, 2018)

In addition to the reasons for following prophetic tradition (*sunnah*), the use of the name of Jogokariyan is expected to have a clear area namely the Jogokariyan village. This allows the mosque to automatically have the territory of preaching (*da'wah*). In addition, the mosque is expected to be a unifier of Jogokariyan people fragmented previously in the political movement in times of upheaval before the events of 1965. The Jogokariyan mosque could be a unifying tool for people and society based on the culture of Jogokariyan village.

Before there was a mosque, Jogokariyan people were generally *abangan* (less religious because they used to pay lesser attention to religious rituals and obligations) because the culture of servants of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace were more inclined to the tradition of *kejawen* than the culture of Islam. In addition, Jogokariyan was the basis area of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) dominated by the poor and workers. While the skippers who came from *abangan* were active in the National Party of Indonesia (PNI) and some comers from Karangajen village became the followers of Masyumi. At the time of the G30S PKI 1965, many citizens were jailed as political prisoners. During these critical times, the Jogokariyan mosque was built and became a unifying tool for social change to be an Islamic society. At present, the Jogokariyan mosque has truly functioned as a change agent. Jogokariyan that was an *abangan* and communist is now a militant Islamic society through mosque-based

preaching. (Muh. Jazir ASP, Dewan Syuro Masjid Jogokariyan, 2018) (“Profil Masjid Jogokariyan,” t.t.)

Historically, the Jogokariyan mosque did not belong to any Islamic institution. The mosque was built by the society and then represented to Muhammadiyah organization for legality purpose. Although Jogokariyan mosque is registered administratively as a mosque belonging to Muhammadiyah and the formal worship is following the Muhammadiyah way, this mosque belongs to the Jogokariyan society.

The people of Jogokariyan village are quite diverse. The western side of the mosque is directly adjacent to Krapyak Islamic boarding which traditionally follows NU religious organizations. The eastern side is adjacent to Karangajen village which is the basic of Muhammadiyah. Muslims who do prayer in the mosque are very diverse. Some of them are Muhammdiyah, NU, Salafi and *abangan* society. The mosque seeks to show the openness to everyone from any ideological background. According to Jazir, all ustadz coming will be allowed to deliver religious teaching, from Salafi, Nahdhatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, HTI and so on. The practice of worship is sometimes adjusted by invited ustad who become *imam* in prayers together. (Muh. Jazir ASP, Dewan Syuro Masjid Jogokariyan, 2018)

The principles of Ustadz Jazir’s management as chairman of mosque management board are Islam, nationalism, and locality. These three principles are symbolized in mosque’s logo.



Picture 2: Mosque’s logo (left) and Usdaz Jazir as Syuro Council of Mosque (right)

The picture of the above mosque's logo shows three symbols. *First*, image of mosque and Arabic script symbolize Islam. *Secondly*, the writing of the Jogokariyan mosque's name using Javanese script is a symbol of local wisdom. Third, the red and white flag put on above the logo is a symbol of nationalism as a form of "*hubbul waṭān minal îmān*" (loving the nation is a part of the faith). Ustad Jazir wants to show that being a militant Muslim does not mean against the nationalism.

These three principles are embodied in preaching (*da'wah*) and social relations. Relation to non-muslims around the society is well preserved. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the mosque, Ustad Jazir made a *kendurian* (Javanese traditional culture) in the mosque. It indicates an effort to appreciate the culture and local wisdom. In addition, Ustad Jazir often uses blangkon headgear when praying together in mosque to show that the identity of the localization must be maintained. The Jogokariyan mosque management board makes planning scenario in advancing *da'wah* in Jogokariyan mosque

In making planning scenario, mosque board made three periods. The *first* period is in 2000-2005, *second* is the period of 2005-2010, *third* is the period of 2010-2015 and tries to make mosque beneficial to society. (Muhammad Rosyidi, 2018) (Wahyu Tejo Raharjo, 2018)

D. PENGAJIAN IN JOGOKARIYAN MOSQUE AS LIVING HADITH

In this sub-section, the phenomenon of *pengajian* in the Jogokariyan mosque will be described as a living hadith. The analysis will be sharpened on how the value and spirit of *pengajian* emerge from the reception of the hadith or the values of prophetic traditions, whether exegetically, aesthetically or culturally. Each phenomenon is always assumed to contain all three forms of the reception at same time. These three receptions will be used to examine the *pengajian* in the Jogokariyan mosque as a phenomenon of living hadith.

Exegetical reception can be seen from the understanding of Jogokariyan mosque management board and the audience. The understanding of mosque management board to the hadith of seeking the knowledge is that someone will become a good Muslim and get reward a heaven if he or she always presents in *pengajian* activities. The mosque management board as service provider or facilitator of *pengajian* is a part of phenomenon of externalization of hadith or hadith values. The uploaded video by the Jogokariyan mosque account on February 11, 2018 features Ustad Salim as one chairman of the Jogokariyan mosque management board was giving religious teachings to Jogokariyan audience with the theme of science *majlis*. In the video, Ustad Salim cited the hadith about the virtues of people who seek knowledge will be made easier to heaven.

Ibn Majah, bab *Faḍl al-'Ulamā' wa al-Ḥaṣṣu 'alā Ṭalab al-'Ilm*, no. 221. Hadis ini berstatus *marfu'*

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ، وَعَلِيُّ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، قَالَا : حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو مُعَاوِيَةَ، عَنْ الْأَعْمَشِ، عَنْ أَبِي صَالِحٍ، عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ : قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ " : مَنْ نَفَسَ عَنْ مُؤْمِنٍ كُرْبَةً مِنْ كُرْبِ الدُّنْيَا، نَفَسَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ كُرْبَةً مِنْ كُرْبِ يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ، وَمَنْ سَتَرَ مُسْلِمًا سَتَرَهُ اللَّهُ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ، وَمَنْ يَسَّرَ عَلَى مُعْسِرٍ يَسِّرَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ، وَاللَّهُ فِي عَوْنِ الْعَبْدِ مَا كَانَ الْعَبْدُ فِي عَوْنِ أَخِيهِ، وَمَنْ سَلَكَ طَرِيقًا يَلْتَمِسُ فِيهِ عِلْمًا، سَهَّلَ اللَّهُ لَهُ بِهِ طَرِيقًا إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ، وَمَا اجْتَمَعَ قَوْمٌ فِي بَيْتٍ مِنْ بُيُوتِ اللَّهِ يَتْلُونَ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ، وَيَتَذَكَّرُونَ بَيْنَهُمْ إِلَّا حَفَّتْهُمُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ، وَنَزَلَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّكِينَةُ، وَغَشِيَتْهُمُ الرَّحْمَةُ، وَذَكَرَهُمُ اللَّهُ فِيمَنْ عِنْدَهُ، وَمَنْ أَبْطَأَ بِهِ عَمَلُهُ لَمْ يُسْرَعْ بِهِ نَسْبُهُ"

The citation of this tradition shows a strong indication that *pengajian* of the Jogokariyan mosque is part of the phenomenon of the living hadith.

So, how does the audience of *pengajian* receive the hadith related to the *pengajian*? The audiences understand *pengajian* as a vehicle of increasing the religious insight. They realize that the *pengajian* is a religious commandment as part of the prophet's guidance. One of the audience said that attending the *pengajian* is a form of implementation from the hadith of the Prophet that mentions every step to the mosque will be recorded by the angel's reward. Likewise, attending the *pengajian* is the same as attending the garden of heaven as in a hadith.

Masjid harus bisa mensejahterahkan masyarakat dengan membuka Bank sendiri atau BMT agar masyarakat tidak perlu ke Bank konvensional yang tentu mengandung unsur riba," (Yuda, 2018)

This info shows that there is awareness occurring from the results of reception of hadith. From the internalization of this hadith, the objectification of creations will arise from the *pengajian*. This reception is a form of aesthetics manifested. They will attend the *pengajian* in white clothes, making pamphlets and installing large backgrounds of *pengajian* and welcoming banners. *Pengajian* also uses several screens and LCD TV, so the audiences who are not in front of the stage are able to hear the religious teachings. This is an effort to make the message delivered in the *pengajian* can be understood maximally by all the audience. The complete sound system and welcoming greeting banners in the *pengajian* are also the result of the aesthetic reception of this hadith.

The form of aesthetic reception can also be seen in the *pengajian* on February 23, 2018 which invited Ustad Abdul Somad with the theme of *Muslim Bersatu* (Unified Muslims). At the end of the *pengajian*, the committee gave souvenirs to Ustad Somad in the form of a specially ordered keiris. *Keris* has an aesthetic value and a symbol of strength to Ulama and Muslims who must have a defense from the enemy. This is a form of aesthetic reception of the hadith value indirectly in the *pengajian* of the Jogokariyan mosque.

The cultural reception can be seen from the enthusiasm of the audiences who come to *pengajian* willingly in the yard of the mosque and the streets. The committee also provides the consumption of *pengajian* as a form of cultural reception from the hadith of honoring the guests. In addition, the cultural reception of this hadith is manifested in the forms of various *pengajian*. The *pengajian* in the Jogokariyan mosque is quite active. There are at least two kinds of *pengajian*, namely regular or scheduled *pengajian* and *pengajian* which is incidental or at a certain moment.

The regular *pengajian* of the Jogokariyan mosque also varies. *First*, the *pengajian* for children (Hamam) is held every Sunday. Children who are the members of Hamam are from kindergarten to junior high school. This *pengajian* is done magrib time to isya time. The goal is that children are accustomed to follow the Maghrib and Isya prayers together in the mosque. This time was chosen because some children attended full day school or took lessons in the afternoon. The speaker is from the Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Indonesia (*Indonesian Muslim Narrator Brotherhood, PPMI*).

Second, the *Pengajian* of Jogokariyan Mosque Youth (RMJ) is devoted to teenagers from junior high school class IX to the active student in university. This *pengajian* is held regularly every Wednesday night at 08:00 pm to 09:15 pm. One of the mosque management board's attempts to invite teenagers is to provide free internet access. They can access either via hp or laptop for school work. *Third*, the *pengajian* of *Majlis Dhuha* is cared directly by Ustad Muh. Jazir ASP as the chairman of Syuro Council of Jogokariyan mosque. This is only prayers and reciting pray together after *Dhuha* prayer. The attendees are also diverse but not as crowded as other public *pengajian*. Most of the Jogokariyan attendees who participated in this are from the elderly. In addition to *jamaah*, the mosque management board also initiates to invite school children of the elementary school Muhammadiyah of Jogokariyan located is not far from the mosque. This certainly can not be separated from the effort to live the value of the *sunnah* of the virtue of *Dhuha*. The mosque management board and the teachers certainly have hope that one day they will be the

one who always prosper the mosque. This *Majlis Dhuha* is held every Thursday morning at 08.00 am-09.00 am.

Fourth, the *pengajian* of Majlis Jejak Rasul (MJN) is handled by Ustad Salim A. Fillah. This *pengajian* is held every Thursday afternoon at 04:15 pm-finish. Each month on a particular Thursday, there is a special edition which usually presents an external speaker. *Fifth*, *pengajian* of Sunday morning followed by all audience from various levels both from around Jogokariyan and outside the village. This is routinely conducted even with popular and scheduled speakers.

The *pengajian* that is incidental follow the readiness of the speaker or *da'i* that has been widely known in the society. When the ustad comes to Yogyakarta, the mosque management board will immediately contact him. In addition to the readiness factor of the speaker, this incidental *pengajian* is usually due to certain moments such as eclipse *pengajian* or respons to religious social issues that are happening. According to Wahyu Tejo Raharjo, one of the treasurers of the Jogokariyan mosque, the *pengajian* that invites the famous Ustad is not scheduled from the beginning. Scheduling can make audience disappointed because the well-known ustad sometimes cancel out the schedule for any reason. It is incidental when they have an event in Yogyakarta then will be contacted to provide *pengajian*. The themes of *pengajian* will be determined by the mosque management board and the themes delivered always respond to the current issues. There are also some ustad who come by offering themselves to be a speaker in *pengajian*.

In addition to the motivation to participate in the *pengajian* which is the reception of hadith, almost every *pengajian* provides the consumption of both for the audience of *pengajian*. For example, every Sunday the mosque management board provides about 500 servings of green bean porridge. Although the giving food is part of the service of the management to the audience, this phenomenon is inseparable from the reception of the hadith about honoring the guests. The mosque management board serves the audience as guests of God. They also said that eating together in the mosque is part of the prophetic tradition. They

understand that prophet and his companions are accustomed to eat together in mosques with dates hanging on mosques. The mosque management board received this information and this was culturally perceived by distributing packaged rice, bread or green bean porridge to the audience. (Muhammad Rosyidi, 2018)

It should be understood that *pengajian* as a social movement certainly can not be separated from the underlying spirit. If the above mentioned *pengajian* is the result of both exegetical and cultural reception of the hadith about the science *majlis*, then the direction of social movement to the goal of defending Islam is also a spirit that rose from the reception of the values of hadith/sunnah about defending the glory of Islam and keeping the islamic brotherhood (*ukhuwah islamiyah*). It is unique that the Jogokariyan mosque is very actively responding to the current religious social issues.

Until here, it can be seen that the hadith or hadith values underlying this phenomenon are not singular. There are many aspects and sides, each of which is the inspiration of the values of the hadith that try to be enlivened in the *pengajian*.

E. SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN JOGOKARIYAN MOSQUE

In addition to the definition of the social movement mentioned earlier, there is a definition that needs to be addressed in this discussion. According to Rao quoted by Michael, the social movement is an organized effort on a group of people to bring partial or total change in society through the collective mobilization that is based on an ideology. (Michael, S.M, t.t.) Ideology plays an important role in the sustainability of the movement. Without it, the social movement will be brittle and unable to withstand the opposition outside the group.

If this definition is used as a barometer, the *pengajian* in Jogokariyan mosque is highly representative to be called as the phenomenon of social movement. *Pengajian* is an activity that involves many people. There are many social relationships, so the *pengajian* can be realized. *Pengajian* can be called as an action initiated by the mosque organization for Jogokariyan

community or outsiders who formed as an informal mass. Therefore, the mosque run by the management structure is a formal group and the people who follow the *pengajian* can be called as informal masses. Because this is *pengajian* (religious teachings), this movement clearly appears from the doctrine of religious ideology as well as other ideologies that became the motive of his movement. According to Suharko, social movement can be applied within the boundaries of legality in a society and can also move illegally from among lay people of society. (Heri Setiono, 2006)

Early, *pengajian* understood as religious activities to convey the values of Islam develop gradually according to its context and culture. The people of Jogokariyan village belong to the area of Yogyakarta City. The people have the contact to technology intensively, so it is easy to access the religious social issues of religion that are busy discussed in mass and social media. The effect is that the Jogokariyan people are very easy to be mobilized because they know the emerging issues. The similarity of vision among the people can eventually grow together, therefore the *pengajian* held by the mosque Jogokariyan is always crowded.

The discourse developed in *pengajian*, especially after the demonstration of the presumed case of defamation to Islam on December 2nd, 2016 is the issue of blasphemy against Muslims, Muslim leaders and Muslim unity. It can be seen in the pamphlet of *pengajian* which was Abdul Somad as speaker on February 23, 2018. The themes written were "Lawan Pendzoliman terhadap Ulama dan Umat Islam, Tolak Ketidakadilan terhadap Umat Islam, Tolak Perilaku Intoleransi Berkedok Kebhinekaan, Muslim Bersatu, Selamatkan NKRI, Jangan Lupakan Fakta Sejarah Umat Islam Konsisten di Garis Depan Penyelamat NKRI." (The Opposition of Oppression against Ulama and Muslims, Reject Injustice against Muslims, Reject the Behavior of Intolerance Behind the Diversity, Muslim Unite, Save NKRI, Do not Forget Facts History of Moslem Consistent in the NKRI).



Picture 4: Pamflet and *Pengajian* of Ustad Abdul Somad

As mentioned earlier, the relevant social movement theory to see the *pengajian* in Jogokariyan mosque uses three strategic frameworks, namely political opportunities, mobilizing structures and arranging the process of framing. (Abdul Wahib Situmorang, 2007) These three factors will be used to read the cycle of social movements in *pengajian* of Jogokariyan mosque.

E.1. Political Opportunities

Political opportunities appear from political changes that happen in a region. This political change causes the emergence of a social movement. The case of blasphemy and the demonstration on December 2, 2016 in Jakarta is the point where political shocks and religious social changes are giving the effect to some areas outside Jakarta, including the Jogokariyan community. This condition is supported by the policy of democratic freedom in this nation, including the critical view of

government policy which is considered unfair. (Abdul Wahib Situmorang, 2007)

This condition is viewed as an opportunity by the Jogokariyan mosque community to conduct religious social movements related to the current issue. The modern and militant society is certainly responsive to religious issues. Thus, the *pengajian* held by the Jogokariyan mosque management board is always so crowded by people from everywhere.

Jogokariyan community at this time forms to be militant Muslim in practicing the religious teachings. When Islam is rumored to be a case of blasphemy and the criminalization of Ulama, the socio-political situation will easily stir the emotions of the community. It makes them very solid in the activities of *pengajian* using themes of the current social religious issues. Interview with one of the audiece of Jogokariyan mosque management board, February 18, 2018

In a video of *pengajian* by Ustad Jazir dated January 20, 2018, he told the history of Islamic sovereignty of the people of Mataram during the Islamic sultanate in the terms of economic prosperity. Ustadz Jazir added his explanation that the end this condition changed to be a decline and increased poverty due to Dutch colonialism. His explanation continued to the history of social class division by the Dutch and the position of the natives as the lowest social class after the Dutch and Chinese level. In the end, Ustad Jazir highlighted the issue of pribumi (indigenous) as a guest in his own country and not sovereign at all.

The issue of injustice over muslim and the spirit to rise and unite is an attempt to show the identity of the mosque. According to Ustad Jazir, the mosque is the base as an organization from the ground society who should not be afraid of who and anything except Allah Swt. Therefore, the government policy that wants to weaken muslim should not be feared. This ideological base is the inspiration of Q.S. At-Taubah (9): 18 stating that people who enliven the mosque should not be afraid except to Allah SWT. This shows that *pengajian* not only contains the

values of living hadith but also living Al-Quran as the basis of social movement. Interview with Muh. Jazir ASP, February 23, 2018

E.2. Mobilizing Structures

The mechanism of mobilizing structures is the way of social groups to merge in collective action, including the tactics of movements and forms of social movement organizations. (Abdul Wahib Situmorang, 2007) The goal is to take positions that are considered strategic in society to be mobilized. In fact, the social movement is actualized here. Dissatisfaction with existing conditions will not mean anything without a group of people willing to carry out mobilization activities based on existing resources. This mobilization structure is used to explain the extent to which the success of the mosque management board in recruiting the board and members to join. In addition, this will explain their social composition in shaping the movement.

The structure of mobilization can also be interpreted as a formal or informal collective vehicle, which is used by a group of people to mobilize and involve itself in collective action. (Heri Setiono, 2006) The vehicles are organizations or groups of *pengajian* such as in Jogokariyan mosque.

The Jogokariyan mosque management board has a complete structure with 30 divisions with responsibility for each division. The mosque management board is chaired by a general chairman assisted by three representatives, namely chairman 1, 2 and 3. These are the chairmen who oversee the existing 30 divisions which have been active. There are some people who act as Syuro Councils' (Dewan Syuro) above the general chairman.

One of the mobilization strategies is regeneration. The Jogokariyan mosque is very active in fostering the community groups and conducting *pengajian* based on age. Such groups, for example are the child group, abbreviated to Hamas for kindergarten to junior high school age. In addition to Hamas, the Jogokariyan mosque also builds

house to memorize the Quran for children. Interview with Iham, santri of Rumah Tahfidz Jogokariyan, February 22, 2018. There is also Jogokariyan Youth Teens (RMJ) for children aged from junior high school up to high school and college students. For a group of young or married mothers are called UMIDA (*ummi* and mother young mosque Jogokariyan). A group for fathers is named KURMA (the Jogokariyan muslim youth graduate family). Team of Writers, *Bulif Masjid Jogokariyan*, iii These groups are the informal resource which is essential for the mobilization of structures in each of the incidental *pengajian* that carries the sensitive themes in specific socio-political issues.

The mobilization of the structure is also seen in the *pengajian* of Hamas (Himpunan Anak Masjid) Jogokariyan held by every Saturday night from time of *maghrib* prayer until entering the time of *isya* prayer. *Pengajian* of children is delivered by the Muslim Brotherhood of Indonesia (PPMI) who is invited every week in this *pengajian*.

According to one RMJ board who is responsible for *pengajian* of Hamas, Ustadz from PPMI will be rotated every *Saturday* night. Interview with Rizkibaldi, Remaja Masjid Jogokariyan (RMJ), February 17, 2018 Here we see the process of regeneration by mobilizing the group. The teenagers who are members of the RMJ and as the coordinator served the process of children's *pengajian*.

When delivering a religious lecture, Ustad Pandu who is also a member of PPMI delivered the theme about punishment of the followers of Prophet Lut. In addition, the theme *conveyed* related to the spirit of keeping the religion of Islam by telling the story that Christians increased and Muslims decreased in the area of Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta. Ustad Pandu also invited the children to shout out "Allahu Akbar" while conveying that the Christians are the enemy of war in the end of time. Delivered by Ustadz Pandu, Persaudaraan Pencerita Muslim Indonesia (PPMI), in *pengajian* of Jogokariyan Masjid Hamas, February 17, 2018

The theme presented above is a form of response to issues that had warmed up in the current time. The story of the Prophet Luth a.s. is a response to the issue of LGBT that was booming some time ago. The theme of christianization as a form of doctrine to children to strengthen their Islam is a response to the case of blasphemy issue of Islam.

In addition to take care of *pengajian* of children, mosque's teenages are also given a responsibility to manage the Ramadhan village event. This responsibility is a form of regeneration to mosque's youth in managing a series of Ramadhan activities including *pengajian*. Interview with the Jogokariyan mosque management board, February 18, 2018

In addition to the structure, the success of mobilization is determined by the availability of resources, the type of resources and the mobilization structure used. Islamic social movements utilize vital resources and mobilization structures including mosques, study groups, strong social networks (friends and family), non-governmental organizations, political parties, religious education, professional associations and students. They can be used to recruit, organize and resist (Aziz, 2002: 4).

Jogokariyan mosque is an example of a social movement which is capable of mobilizing all the potential around the mosque and outside network. Muhammadiyah education institutions and organizations, religious organizations, students, network of religious leaders, sponsors, donors, officials and others can be embraced in large-scale *pengajian*.

E.3. Framing Process

The framing process can be interpreted as a conscious strategic effort by groups of people to form a shared understanding of what legitimizes and encourages the collective action.(Heri Setiono, 2006) The actors who want the change in society can be seen how far they have a high consistency in influencing the public that in fact has the varieties and

different character of each group. (Heri Setiono, 2006) Framing ultimately becomes the moral basis for the emergence of a social movement. The framing process appears from the cultural traditions that exist in society. In other words, social movement activists can not abandon the roots of tradition, but even must be able to use them effectively. In addition, framing is intended to understand how strongly ideological factors play an important role, such as the doctrines underlying the mosque leaders in voicing the understood idea.

The success or failure of this framing process is determined by several issues, namely the issues raised, media used, role actors and strategies of spreading the idea. First, the issue or topic raised can attract the attention of people. According to Zald quoted Abdul Wahib, the topic is not only important in the process but also plays an important role in the formation of framing.(Abdul Wahib Situmorang, 2007)

On January 21, 2018, Jogokariyan mosque held "Tabligh Akbar" (*big religious teachings*) with the theme "One Command of Muslim to Save Indonesia". Tabligh Akbar invited Gus Nur, Dr. Muinuddillah (Chairman of the Syariah Council of Surakarta City, Aqsa Friend Advisor) and Muhammad Jazir ASP (Chairman of the Shura Council of Masjid Jogokariyan).

Before the *pengajian*, Abdul Aziz Ma'arif read Q.S. Al-Maidah (5) :54. This verse is then interpreted by the MC in order to give understanding to the audience to be a gentle to the believers, be hard on the unbelievers, be strive in the way of Allah and not afraid of reproach. After that, the MC guided the audience to yel-yel "Satu Komando, Selamatkan Indonesia" (One Command, Save Indonesia) and scream "Allahu Akbar" as an encouragement.

According to committee chairman, Yusna Setain Adiarta who is also chairman of Jogokariyan Mosque Youth (RMJ), the *pengajian* responded to the phenomenon of criminalization of the ulama, the dissolved *pengajian* and the Muslims were degraded by the government. Yusna also revealed that the rise of Islam in the promised future of God

originated from Indonesia and hopefully a revival of Islamic civilization will occur from the Jogokariyan mosque. (<https://www.facebook.com/masjidjogokariyan/videos/1686148418108945/>)

One of the essences what Ustad Jazir said was the weakness of today's leaders and Indonesian people should seek and choose good leaders who support Islam. Gus Nur highlighted that the police as an arbitrary apparatus in arresting who are considered radical. He also highlighted that the current government is merely a puppet of party officials and ruled by Taipan. He also commented on the issue of criminalization of ulama and government policies, such as BPJS as a form of disapproval to government policy.

According to Doug McAdam quoted Heri Setiono, social movements have a kind of life cycle that is created, growing, achieving success or failure, sometimes dissolved and stopped or losing its existence. If it is closely observed, the social movements contained in the *pengajian* in Jogokariyan mosque succeed in shaping the doctrine within the audience on both religious and socio-political issues. Since post-demonstration 212 on December 2, 2016, the themes presented in *pengajian* show the same continuous pattern basically. The pattern is the issue of the rise of Muslim forces and resistance efforts. This gives suggestion to reject government policy considered harmful to Muslims.



Picture 5: Social Media of Jogokariyan Mosque

Second, one of the processes of movement is an appeal to attend the *pengajian*. This is done by the mosque management board not only in the real world but also in the virtual world. For example, on the facebook account page of the Jogokariyan mosque, the admin shared a youtube video containing *pengajian* about the advice of attending *majlis 'ilm* (*pengajian*) directly instead of watching through youtube videos on the internet. Jogokariyan mosque has some social media. For *fanpage* of Jogokariyan mosque's *facebook*, there are 120.398 followers. In addition to *facebook*, the Jogokariyan mosque management board is very active in *instagram* with 48,600 followers. Every event will be published in *instagram* account, @masjidjogokariyan.

Ustad Salim, a speaker and one of the chairmen of the Jogokariyan mosque management board, conveyed the doctrine by citing the hadith of reward of attending the *science majlis* by adding testimony that the reward of the person standing, overheating, jostling to attend the *pengajian* is much greater. It means that the hadith is used as an ideological doctrine for framing the spirit movement to participate in the *pengajian*.

The tool used in social media is pamphlet. Pamphlet can provide an interesting overview of the activities, themes delivered and speakers invited in *pengajian*. The ease of distributing the pictures of pamphlet in social media is not just a matter of time and place of *pengajian*, but also the diction of the theme of *pengajian* and who are the speakers help shaping the delivered issues.

Third, the success of the social movement in the Jogokariyan mosque is inseparable from the role of intellectual actors. Actors in social movements can be interpreted by individuals or groups of people who spearhead the movement by raising the value of an ideal or a particular issue to organize, empower and advocate the society. (Heri Setiono, 2006) In a religious-oriented social movement, this actor is one or more charismatic figures. This figure is an important agent for mobilizing and framing to a group of people. The doctrine performed tends to be

easy and able to invite people. In the mosque and community of Jogokariyan, there are some figures that are so familiar.

Individually, most intellectual actor who plays a role in the dynamics of Jogokariyan mosque is Ustad Jazir. He has the character and role model for the society. In several presentations to the participants of comparative study in the Jogokariyan mosque, the mosque management board always gave examples of things what Ustad Jazir did, both in terms of role model and spreading strategy. Ustad Jazir had served as chairman of the mosque management board from 1999 to 2016 by election every four years. It means that Ustad Jazir in a long time won the trust and has an influence for the Jogokariyan society. Structurally at religious organization, Ustad Jazir served as chairman of the Muhammadiyah Branch in Jogokariyan. In the society he is appointed as the head of RT. Currently, Ustad Jazir becomes the chairman of Syuro Council over the head of Jogokariyan mosque management board.

Types of Actors and Its Orientation

Element	Idealist	Partisan	Opportunist
Status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Intellectual actor -Religious speaker -Mosque management board 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Jogokariyan's Audience -Outside Audience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Sponsorship -Religious organisation -Political figure
Main Orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Choosing the muslim leader who is pro-muslim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Abolishing the injustices -The rise of Muslims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Chosen by society -Partiality -Social-political power
Direct Achievement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Socialization of Muslim unity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Hearing Islamic teachings -Meeting the popular 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Sosialization to society -Best image as a good person

		Ustadz	
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Table 1: (Heri Setiono, 2006)

However, it does not mean that all actors have the same orientation and motive. In a single issue of movement, actors and partisans can have the same mission with different orientation level, as shown by table 1. The following is the mapping of the type of actor and his orientation in the *pengajian* of the Jogokariyan mosque. This mapping is the result of observations and interviews of religious figures and society.

In addition to the three above strategy frameworks mentioned above (table 1), every social movement has a movement strategy that is not limited by standard theories and concepts. Each movement will develop creatively according to the culture and socio-political conditions in an area. The chosen strategy will adjust with the faced reality in the society. (Heri Setiono, 2006) Among these strategies, coating strategy and critical engagement can be seen in the phenomenon of Jogokariyan mosque.

The coating strategy is the provision of actual welfare-oriented services containing the empowerment-oriented methods and the activities of social transformation. This is done by the mosque management board by providing services in the form of donation to the active muslims to the mosque, the giving of alms which must be taken at the mosque, giving the role to the jamaah according to their skill, doing the reparation of the house and its socialization to the society and other activities that are welfare services.

The strategy of critical engagement is cooperation with others to face a policy or political changes that occur. The Jogokariyan mosque management board is always active to attract other organizations in every activities both social organizations and institutions. The mosque management board also involves the graduate of Jogokariyan as donors and sponsorship cooperation.

F. CONCLUSION

There are three main points can be summarized as follows, *First*, the phenomenon of living hadith in pengajian at Jogokariyan mosque could be viewed from exegetical, aesthetic, and cultural aspects. The reception of hadith about the virtue of seeking knowledge and *majlis 'ilm* in the Jogokariyan mosque is not only as a phenomenon of living hadith but also as a tool of ideological doctrine base to mobilize the social movement.

Second, in addition to the form of the practice of hadith, the motive of injustice against Muslims post-demonstration 212 in Jakarta became a current issue of social movement in *pengajian* at Jogokariyan. The attitude taken by the Jogokariyan mosque community is the strengthening of the identity of Muslims who are not afraid of the government when policies are considered to be detrimental to Muslims.

Thirdly, the success of mobilization in *pengajian* of Jogokariyan mosque is inseparable from the respected intellectual actors and due to its strong relations with various parties. Because of its role, the mosque management board is able to embrace all elements of the surrounding community and to cooperate with various outside parties.

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Some of *Pengajian* at Jogokariyan Mosque after 212 Demostration



